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## IAF hits Hizbullah in Beirut stronghold

### Peres: Hizbullah is not immune

DAVID MAKOVSKY

ISRAELI attacks in Beirut and elsewhere in Lebanon show "there will be no immunity for any Hizbullah position or location from where they plan to shoot or attack the state of Israel," Prime Minister Shimon Peres declared yesterday.

Last night Hizbullah vowed to retaliate against the attacks. OC Military Intelligence Maj.-Gen. Moshe Ya'alon predicted Hizbullah retaliation would range from cat bombs to Katyusha rockets, and there would be tough days ahead.

White House spokesman Michael McCurry said the US urged all parties to show restraint.

"The United States is concerned about the escalation of the fighting... We are urging all sides to exercise restraint, and we are urging those who have influence with the parties to use that influence to minimize the tension and the violence," he said.

The remark about "those who have influence" was a clear allusion to Syria, due to its sway with Lebanon.

Yet, in a phone conversation with Foreign Minister Ehud Barak last night, Secretary of State Warren Christopher did not offer to begin a new mediation effort with Damascus nor did Israel request such an effort, according to a senior Foreign Ministry official. In a statement, Christopher blamed Hizbullah for starting the clashes with Israel.

(Continued on Page 18)



Residents inspect the wreck of a car destroyed by IAF helicopter gunships yesterday near Tyre. (AP)

### Pinpoint air strikes 'a clear message'

DAVID RUDGE and ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

ISRAELI Air Force helicopter gunships and fighter bombers blasted Hizbullah targets in Lebanon yesterday, staging surgical air strikes in the Syrian-policed Bekaa Valley and hitting the Hizbullah nerve center in Beirut. This was the first time the IAF has attacked the Lebanese capital since the 1982 Lebanon war.

The anticipated retaliation for the Katyusha rocket attacks earlier this week was seen as a clear message to Hizbullah leaders that Israel would not tolerate attacks against its civilians. But the operation also was aimed to impress upon the governments in Beirut and Damascus that they must exert their control to rein in the Iranian-backed group.

"We are going to make it clear to Hizbullah that the citizens of southern Lebanon won't be the shield of their activities," Chief of Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak said.

The IAF raids deep into Lebanon raised tensions along the northern border and in the security zone to a fever pitch. IDF and South Lebanese Army troops were on full alert and all emergency services in the North were on standby in case of Katyusha rocket retaliation.

Kiryat Shmona and Metulla turned into virtual ghost towns, with thousands of children evacuated southward and hundreds of families clogging the roads as they fled to safer areas. Some 7,000 Kiryat Shmona residents were said to have left the town.

Along the northern border, there was little troop movement. The Good Fence remained open with ammunition convoys moving across the border toward artillery batteries in the security zone.

As night fell, IAF warplanes and helicopters could still be heard heading into Lebanon. Those who remained in the North prepared to spend yet another night in public bomb shelters or their own security rooms, with or without their families.

There were also reports from Lebanon that the Israeli Navy had taken part in the attack, but the IDF denied this.

Unofficial reports from Lebanon said at least four people were killed and seven wounded in the attacks, plus three Lebanese soldiers wounded, but Hizbullah did not announce last night whether any of its members were among the casualties.

Two civilians were said to have been killed and four wounded in a rocket attack on a car on the coastal road north of Sidon by helicopter gunships. One person was said to have been killed and another wounded in a pinpoint helicopter attack on a Hizbullah base in Beirut.

According to the reports from Lebanon, two more Lebanese were wounded in air strikes on a village between Nakoura and Tyre later in the day. One person was reported to have been killed in Sawar village southwest of Jibchah beyond the security zone.

At the United Nations, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali deplored the escalation of

(Continued on Page 2)

## Thousands evacuate North after attacks

DAVID RUDGE

AT LEAST 7,000 people, especially youngsters, left northern border towns and villages yesterday and moved to areas out of Katyusha rocket range following IAF strikes on Hizbullah bases and centers deep in Lebanon, including Beirut.

Amid emotional scenes in Kiryat Shmona, some parents said what they hoped would be only a temporary farewell to their children as the youngsters boarded buses taking them out of the town.

In some cases, parents decided to accompany their children, saying they were fed up with nights and days spent in bomb shelters, especially after the rocket attacks on the town early Tuesday morning.

A teenage girl, Hannah Azulai, was moderately wounded in the attacks and six other residents were lightly hurt, while as many as 30 had to be treated for shock. More than 200 homes were damaged, at least one of them badly, by the exploding rockets.

The evacuation of residents from Kiryat Shmona and other border towns and villages was decided upon at emergency meetings of council leaders in their communities after they were briefed by senior IDF officers.

The IDF did not issue any instructions for children, elderly people, or families to leave, although throughout the day it reiterated calls to residents to remain in bomb shelters or security rooms.

By last night, more than 1,500 people had left the town on buses organized by the municipality in conjunction with community centers.

More than one thousand others moved out on their own on regular and extra buses added by Egged and in their own cars, to stay with relatives in Haifa and central parts of the country.

Reports from other parts of the Galilee said at least 2,000 people had made similar moves from their homes to safer regions after long nights in bomb shelters and security rooms.

Chief of Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, accompanied by OC Northern Command Maj.-Gen. Amiram Levine, visited Kiryat Shmona yesterday morning and met with Mayor Prosper Azran and city councilors.

"I came here to see if the mayor and the town council and the town are prepared for the coming days," Shahak told reporters after the meeting.

"In my opinion there will not be any problems that cannot be solved," he said.

In a meeting with council heads in Western Galilee, Levine said they should be prepared for an extended operation that would require patience and steadfastness on their part.

(Continued on Page 2)

Father, son found dead in apparent suicide

## Jordan allows US fighters to patrol Iraq

AMMAN (Reuters) - Jordan has agreed to allow US warplanes to use its territory as a base for flights to enforce a UN-mandated "no-fly" zone over southern Iraq, officials and diplomats said yesterday.

The 30 F-15s and F-16s plus four tanker jets involved in the land-based "Airpower Expeditionary Force" are to start flying into Jordan today and use a Jordanian base for two months.

"The Airpower Expeditionary Force planes will take off from the Azraq base daily, fly through Saudi airspace to southern Iraq and return at the end of their mission," a senior Jordanian official said.

It is the first time Jordan has allowed any allied war planes to use its territory to fly over Iraq.

The development reflects improved Jordanian-US relations which were strained by Jordan's perceived support for Iraq during the 1990-91 Gulf crisis.

The United Nations imposed a "no-fly" zone over southern Iraq after the Gulf crisis sparked by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August, 1990.

The US will also help train Jordanian air force pilots. Amman is due to receive a first batch of 16 F-16 aircraft in late 1997.

(Analysis, Page 18)

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# Defiant Kiryat Shmona resident: 'Hizbullah hasn't beaten us'

SHULA Peretz was among those waiting to register her children at a community center in Kiryat Shmona yesterday morning for organized evacuation from the town.

She was accompanied by her 12-year-old daughter Adva, who was destined to be among those leaving the town, together with her older brother, while their mother stayed behind.

"It is very difficult being in the bomb shelters all the time and not knowing what's going to happen," said Shula. "I'm afraid, not so much for myself but for the children."

"If the children are away from here, I will feel better because it's dangerous here. I will be staying here because this is my home, even though it will be lonely for me," she said at the registration center.

Adva said she would not mind staying, but if her mother decided she should leave she would do so. "I was born in Kiryat Shmona and I have seen a lot," said Adva.

"I'm not really afraid, although when the rockets fall nearby it frightens me, and also when I'm at school at such times, because I'm not with my mother," she said.

"I don't know where they will be sending us but it will be okay because I know that my brother, who is 15, will be with me."

Eldad Keinan, a veteran Kiryat Shmona resident, also tried to reg-

DAVID RUDGE

ister his four children to be moved out of the town. It was the first such organized evacuation since the 1993 week-long Operation Accountability, in which thousands of residents left the North.

"It's not the first time that the children are candidates for evacuation, but it's the first time I have agreed to it," said Eldad.

"As it happened, the registration was full, so in a way I'm happy because it means that we will all be staying here together as a family."

"I certainly don't want Hizbullah to get the feeling they have beaten us because they haven't and they won't," he said.

Among those who decided to stay in the town yesterday were new immigrants Boris and Tanya Sidelovsky, who moved to Kiryat Shmona shortly after leaving the former Soviet Union three years ago.

"Three years can be a long time especially in a place like Kiryat Shmona. We have seen and experienced a lot of things during that time," said Boris, a general practitioner.

"I am staying because of my job and the fact that I feel I will be needed in the coming days and our 15 year-old son will stay with me," said Boris.

His wife Tanya, a qualified nurse, said she was also staying because of her job looking after geriatric patients at Kibbutz

Dafna.

They both expressed their belief and hope for peace as "the best security for Israel in the long term, but not at any price and not at the expense of Katyusha rocket attacks." They spoke as they were about to leave with friends for a "quiet picnic" out of town and out of the range of Soviet-made Katyusha rockets.

Twice during the conversation, loudspeakers blared instructing residents to enter bomb shelters and stay in security rooms.

"I hope we are going to be able to get away and get a breath of fresh air, if only for a short while," said Boris.

Few people were on the town's streets yesterday, the usual Thursday outdoor market was closed and most of the traffic was headed south, rather than to the nature spots.

As night fell, the remaining residents prepared to spend yet another night in bomb shelters and security rooms.

Judy Siegel adds: Bezeq will install free-dialing telephones to all centers to which children from the North will be evacuated so they can be in touch with their parents, the company's director-general, Yitzhak Kaul, announced yesterday.

The company is also looking into other ways of using telecommunications to alleviate the difficulties for residents in settlements in the line of Katyusha fire.



Kiryat Shmona residents board buses yesterday as the exodus from the city continues.

(Aviva Shapira/Israel Sun)

## 13 hurt in accident by Golani junction

THIRTEEN people were injured - one seriously - when a car and bus collided near the Golani junction. The injured were evacuated to Poriya Hospital, near Tiberias.

A similar accident occurred on the same section of the road, No. 77, two months ago.

Lower Galilee Regional Council head Benny Gurfinkel said the road had claimed eight lives in the past year. He demanded that the Transport Ministry immediately make improvements on the road to prevent further accidents.

## AIR STRIKES

(Continued from Page 1)

Following the attack, Hizbullah fighters quickly scaled off the area, forcibly turning back reporters and photographers. Anti-aircraft fire was directed at the IAF helicopters, which released missile-deflecting flares.

In the Tyre district, an Israeli helicopter fired on a Lebanese Army unit, reportedly wounding three soldiers after they fired on the helicopter. The attack set fire to a Lebanese Army armored personnel carrier and knocked out anti-aircraft batteries in the vicinity.

"We have nothing against the Lebanese Army and we can only advise the Lebanese Army to stay out of what we are doing. If they will do so there will be no casualties among them," Shabak said.

Earlier, IAF aircraft had struck at a Hizbullah operation base at Midrat Ein Abu Suwar, north of Nabatiya. The army said the two structures targeted there were used by Hizbullah and stressed they were located in an isolated and empty part of the village and so civilians would not be hurt in the attack.

The army accused the Hizbul-

## THOUSANDS

(Continued from Page 1)

"We would be happy if this would be a short period, but unfortunately at the moment it's necessary to prepare for [more than] a few days," Levine told reporters after the meeting.

"Hizbullah has to stop Katyusha rocket attacks on the Gallee and on [the security zone in] south Lebanon. If Hizbullah continues, or threatens to continue, its Katyusha rocket attacks, it will continue to be hit by us and I hope hit hard," Levine said.

Levine said most schools in the north would be closed today, and the situation would be reviewed at the beginning of next week.

## Winning numbers

In last night's weekly Paysis Hazak drawing, the holder of ticket number 396876 won NIS 1 million, while ticket 270803 was good for a new car.

Those holding tickets 611389, 606988, 828829, 676635, 573393, 394873, 482866, and 895435 all won NIS 5,000, while tickets ending in 46959, 72729, 86852, 33317, 22252, 63648, 73687, 69539, 86432, 83866, 68491, 83013, 26520, 78584, 37303, 56131, 35808, 87277, and 11741 were good for NIS 1,000. Those holding tickets ending in

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While two women prepare food for their family, others relax at the Mimosa celebrations in Jerusalem's Sacher Park yesterday. Elsewhere in the park, a 17-year-old Peace Now supporter was injured in a brawl between young right- and left-wingers. She was reported in satisfactory condition at Hadassah-University Hospital, Ein Kerem. (Brian Headier)

# Netanyahu to Hizbullah: Don't wish for Likud

LIKUD Chairman Binyamin Netanyahu expressed support yesterday for the latest operations in Lebanon, saying he hoped "they were not one-time limited replies."

He also warned the Iranians, Hizbullah and Hamas not to wish the Likud would come to power "because we would make your life hell. It will not be to your advantage if a Likud-based government takes over because we shall relentlessly fight and pursue you."

Netanyahu was reacting to comments by OC Military Intelligence Maj.-Gen. Moshe Ya'alon, who contended that the Hizbullah and Hamas operations were geared to remove Labor from power.

Likud sources expressed alarm at Ya'alon's comments, maintaining these were political interjections during an election campaign uttered by a general in uniform, something insufferable in a democracy. Moreover, they said, the extreme Islamic organizations are not targeting the peace process but the state of Israel and Jewish lives in order to win Israeli concessions and to claim credit for concessions made under the Oslo framework.

## SARAH HONIG

Netanyahu maintained yesterday that "it will not do to engage in sporadic raids against the terrorists, be they Hizbullah or Hamas. The fight against terrorists must be continuous. They must never be allowed to raise their heads."

He further said that he hopes Prime Minister Shimon Peres and the Labor government "have by now awakened from their dangerous delusions that they can trust Israel's security to Syrian President Hafez Assad who was expected to keep the Hizbullah at bay, and to PLO chief Yasser Arafat who was supposed to contain the Hamas and Islamic Jihad."

change that course, it will enjoy our unwavering support," the Likud leader said.

The Likud's rising new star Maj.-Gen. (res.) Yitzhak Mordechai, former OC Northern Command, said he had "many doubts that what we have at hand is a real change. The government has made moves in the right direction, but sadly it is much too little much too late."

"When more than half of Kiryat Shmona is emptied, we have reached a very unfortunate situation which should never have been allowed to deteriorate as it had. Things were allowed to get this bad only because the IDF's hands were tied for political considerations and the Hizbullah was allowed to run wild without containment, because the government was afraid to upset chances for a quick deal with the Syrians."

## Reaction to Lebanese bombing

### Syria slams Israel Lebanon: Raids ruining peace

DAMASCUS (Reuters) - Syria slammed Israel for launching air strikes against Lebanon yesterday and said the attacks would harm the Middle East peace process.

"What Israel did in Lebanon today has only one name. It is aggression," state-run radio said, giving Syria's initial reaction to the raids.

"This Israeli aggression and terrorism will have its consequences which would harm the peace process," the radio said.

"This Israeli aggression is not justified by any means. Israel could not present any reason to

explain or justify it," the radio said. "Aggression against civilians could never be justified."

At least three Lebanese civilians and one soldier were killed in the raids which followed the killing of an IDF soldier on Wednesday by Hizbullah mortar rounds in southern Lebanon and the wounding of 36 people.

Syria reiterated its support for Lebanese resistance against Israel's occupation of southern Lebanon. It said Israel was violating an agreement of understanding with the Lebanese resistance to refrain from attacking civilian targets.

BEIRUT (Reuters) - Lebanon said yesterday Israel was ruining chances for Middle East peace by its air and sea bombardment of areas of Lebanon, including the first air raid on Beirut in 14 years.

Foreign Minister Faris Bouez also said Beirut was seriously considering lodging a complaint with the UN Security Council to protest against the Israeli attack that killed four people and wounded 11.

"If Israel means real peace then it is destroying it today and it is contributing to more tension in the region," Bouez told reporters in Beirut, shortly after Israeli helicopters blasted Hizbullah targets in Beirut's southern suburbs.

"Violence only attracts counter-violence. What is required if we really are truthful is wanting to get out of this whirlpool...is to push forward the (Arab-Israeli) peace process," Bouez added.

push forward the (Arab-Israeli) peace process," Bouez added.

## Radical Palestinians condemn air raids

DAMASCUS (Reuters) - A radical Palestinian group condemned Israel's air raids on Beirut and other areas of Lebanon yesterday, terming them a kind of "organized state terrorism."

The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), led by Nayef Hawatmeh, urged the UN Security Council and other world bodies to denounce the Israeli attacks.

"The Israeli raids constitute a clear form of the organized state

terrorism which is practiced by Israel against the peoples of the region," the DFLP said in a statement.

"Violence leads to violence and the violence of the occupier will lead to nothing but big resistance inside occupied Palestine and south Lebanon," it added.

The DFLP, which is opposed to the Palestinian-Israeli peace deal, has several military bases in Lebanon which it uses to launch attacks against Israel.

## France urges negotiations

PARIS (Reuters) - France yesterday deplored mounting violence in southern Lebanon and urged Lebanon and Israel to try to settle their differences through negotiations.

"France is ready to lend its support" if talks are set between Lebanon and Israel, Foreign Ministry spokesman Jacques Rummelhardt said.

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# More than a gimmick

ALLAN E. SHAPIRO

The only truly novel element in Shimon Peres's proposal for a referendum on the final settlement with the Palestinians is its timing. Its origins go back to 1974, when the National Religious Party entered the Labor-led coalition on the basis of an agreement that there would be no commitment on withdrawal from Judea and Samaria without new elections or NRP approval.

No wonder NRP leader Zevulun Hammer has readily accepted the Peres proposal. If Peres is elected prime minister, the NRP would probably insist on some such procedural mechanism as a condition for joining his government. Thus, at one level, the initiative is the opening move in coalition negotiations with the religious parties. No wonder it was angrily denounced by Meretz leader Yossi Sarid. He realizes the proposal is not a simple election gimmick.

But to Benjamin Netanyahu, that's all it is — a gimmick that shifts the emphasis away from policy and turns the election into a choice of leaders. Is Netanyahu having second thoughts about his support for direct election of the prime minister?

Both Meretz and the Likud argue that the coming elections will determine the shape of the final settlement. Both are half right. The coming elections will set the direction. Negotiations will define the results.

The approaching elections will provide the mandate to negotiate. According to the Oslo Declaration of Principles, the final agreement is scheduled for May 1999, three years from now. No one can predict its ultimate form. Flexibility is inherent in what has been a trial-and-error process from the beginning.

While insisting on flexibility, Peres also seeks to strengthen his own credibility as a negotiator both with his own people and with the Palestinians. On the home front, he gives reassurance against

a sellout by the self-denying declaration that he won't use a parliamentary steamroller to push through the final deal. To the other side, he comes armed with a powerful weapon — the need for popular approval. He is, in effect, telling Yasser Arafat what Arafat has been telling him: There are limits beyond which he can't go.

If the ratification of the final settlement agreement is by a decision of the Knesset, it should be by a decision of the Knesset elected after the conclusion of negotiations. This would meet the needs of the Israeli negotiator. It would also accord with the spirit of the 1974 coalition agreement with the NRP.

## The referendum carries with it both promise and risk

EXCEPT in very exceptional cases, parliamentary approval should be preferable to a referendum. Referenda are manipulable. When there are low levels of participation, they are dubiously representative.

But, as the distinguished historian David Schoenbaum puts it, a settlement with the Palestinians is not exactly like legalized slot machines. Considering what's at stake, the highest level of legitimacy, through direct popular approval, should be the objective. In a final settlement with the Palestinians, sovereignty itself is at issue. Even in Britain, with its jealously protected parliamentary prerogatives, a popular referendum was held to approve accession to the European Community. The Maastricht agreement on a European monetary system was the subject of popular referenda

in several Western European parliamentary democracies.

One test of the utility of a referendum on a final settlement is a worst case scenario, in which the country is almost exactly evenly divided. In one scenario, the final settlement is approved by the Knesset by a one-vote margin. In the alternative scenario, it is approved by a comparable percentage of the popular vote. Both scenarios spell danger to the political system as a whole. However, assuming, as is likely, maximum popular participation, popular approval would achieve a higher level of legitimacy.

Fortunately, this worst case scenario is unlikely to come to pass. At a pragmatic level, the lines of settlement with the Palestinians are gradually achieving significant gains in popular approval. Even among leaders in the so-called national camp, let alone among their supporters, ideological intransigence is waning. The meetings of settlement leaders with Palestinian leadership are one indication.

Reactions to the Hamas outrages are also significant. True, there is a popular demand for freedom of military action. However, there has been no audible call for a reoccupation of Gaza or other Palestinian population centers. Opposition to rule over another people is on its way to becoming part of the national consensus.

The referendum carries with it both promise and risk. The promise is that mass approval of a fully negotiated settlement will mark a turning point in the ideological cleavage in Israeli politics. The risk: another step toward populism, like primaries and the direct election of the prime minister, a tool in the hands of a popularly elected prime minister to circumvent opposition in a recalcitrant Knesset.

The writer is a legal and political commentator.



# When friends differ

EFRAIM ZUROFF

The conflict between settling old grievances and protecting current and future interests is one which often arises in issues related to the Holocaust. To what extent should old scores be settled when resolving them might have a negative effect on contemporary Israeli and/or Jewish interests?

This question has plagued the efforts to prosecute Nazi war criminals for many years and has undoubtedly reduced the number of Holocaust perpetrators ultimately brought to justice. A recent example concerned the case of Adolf Eichmann's trusted subordinate Alois Brunner. It was known that Brunner had resided for many years in Damascus, where he assisted the Syrian regime in various aspects of its repressive policies. Thus when Israel and Syria began their negotiations in 1991, Nazi-hunters were among those who urged Israel to demand Brunner's extradition.

While a very good case could be presented for such a step, Israeli leaders thought otherwise. According to a letter from Israel's Ambassador to the US Itamar Rabinovich to Rabbi Marvin Hier in late 1993, the time had not yet come to raise the issue. To the best of our knowledge, that time has still not come, at least from Israel's point of view, and it is not clear if it ever will. Aging Nazis have rarely interested Israeli policymakers, especially if prosecution efforts exacted a price, diplomatic or otherwise.

I was reminded of this during a

recent visit to Costa Rica. I went there to try and influence the local government to deport or extradite Bogdan Koziy, a Ukrainian Nazi war criminal who is living with his wife in Aleuela, not far from the capital of San Jose. Koziy escaped

discovered and murdered at least 14 Jews. Among his victims was Monika Zinger, the four-year-old daughter of the local doctor whom Koziy shot at point-blank range in the town's main street, near the local police station.

## Aging Nazis have rarely interested Israeli policymakers, especially if prosecution efforts exacted a price

to Costa Rica following his denaturalization in the United States and all previous efforts to take action against him have failed, including an extradition request from the Soviet Union.

Part of the problem apparently is that Costa Rica has long been considered one of Israel's most loyal friends and since it is one of only two countries to maintain an embassy in Jerusalem, Israel and Jewish groups have been reluctant to apply any sort of serious pressure regarding this issue. During World War II, Koziy served as a Ukrainian policeman in the Stanislawow district of Eastern Galicia. He was stationed in Lysiec, a shtetl with several hundred Jews most of whom were deported to the Stanislawow Ghetto or the Belzec death camp. Koziy's job was to find Jews in hiding in Lysiec and during the years 1942-1943 he personally

found that he is only 73, it becomes worthy of our attention. Under these circumstances, there is a legitimate basis to appeal to our friends in Costa Rica politely but firmly to either put him on trial (an unlikely prospect) or declare him persona non grata and kick him out of the country, a step which will ultimately result in his expulsion to the Ukraine.

Koziy enjoys the strong support of Roman Arieta, the bishop of San Jose, although local leaders realize that his presence can easily be turned into a political liability on the international scene. We must therefore make clear that while we understand that friends sometimes make mistakes, this is a case in which even our warm relations with Costa Rica cannot allow us to ignore the fact that the country continues to afford shelter to the lowly murderer of little Monika Zinger and many other innocent victims.

The writer is the director of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Israel.

# The slavery of silent suffering

GERALD M. STEINBERG

The last day of Passah commemorates the crossing of the Red Sea, when the Israelites walked through the parted waters, and then saw the waters close on Pharaoh's army. On the other side, with the sea dividing them from the Egyptians and their oracles finally over, Moses and the Children of Israel suddenly found their collective voice. In a radical departure from the narrative of the Torah and the drama of the Exodus, the Torah gives us a song of celebration and freedom.

This vocal celebration of God's victory over Pharaoh provides a stark contrast to the silence of the slaves that we find at the beginning of the Exodus story. The enslavement, the taskmasters, the continuously increasing oppression, and even the drowning of first-born sons did not elicit any response from the Israelites. It was only when Pharaoh died and yet another regime began, without an end to the oppression, that the Jews finally showed some sign of life. The story of the Exodus begins when all of the Children of Israel "sighed" with pain from their work, and this cry reached God, and thus, the process of divine intervention was triggered.

In response to this collective sigh, Moses was ordered from his desert retreat to Pharaoh's palace to demand freedom, but the slaves failed to accept his leadership. From their perspective, the efforts of Moses only brought greater oppression and suffering. It was only after the plagues and battles between God and Pharaoh that the Children of Israel began to have some hope, until, after the Slaying of the First Born, they were finally allowed to go free. At each stage, the Children of Israel became increasingly articulate and their voices grew louder, until finally, after crossing the Red Sea, they sang collectively and triumphantly.

Three thousand years later, the Zionist movement in Israel were born out of a sigh of pain and suffering. For many years, the traditional Jewish leadership, both reli-

gious and secular, ridiculed or condemned the efforts of Herzl and other Zionist leaders. Like the slaves in Egypt, the "old guard" feared and could not comprehend the revolutionary concepts of political Zionism, sovereignty and freedom.

Slowly and painfully, Jewish support for Zionism grew, until finally, in May 1948, the State of Israel was established. As in the Exodus from Egypt and the crossing of the Red Sea, the celebration of the Jewish people in Israel and in the Diaspora was heard throughout the world.

## Jews who are silent will never be free

YET NOW, not even 50 years since the birth of our independence, we have lost our voice again, and are in danger of losing our freedom. As in the era of pogroms and the Holocaust, Jews are again an object of pity and sympathy. Terrorism and violence has left Israelis and Jews silent and speechless. Our leaders (and the all-knowing columnists and television news broadcasters) tell us to be silent in our mourning, and not to introduce politics (i.e., criticism of the government) when we should be discussing death and suffering. On one popular talk show (Popolitika), a bereaved, relative and recent immigrant had the nerve to talk about Zionism, and the brass commentator told him that politics (i.e., Zionism) was inappropriate at a time like this.

This response to terrorism and murder is linked intellectually to the self-styled New Historians and the fad of "post-Zionism," a form of political self-abnegation

that is essentially a form of Jewish and Israeli anti-Zionism.

This thesis, created in a historical and political vacuum reminiscent of much of Jewish intellectual activity during the 2,000 years of the Diaspora, is that with the creation of the Jewish state, Zionism has fulfilled its objectives. Now, the post-Zionists declare, our goals should shift to "compensating" the Palestinians for their suffering, and "normalizing" Israel by erasing its Jewish character. Jews should again become invisible and silent.

Here again, the lessons and historical perspective of the Exodus from Egypt are useful. The story of the Exodus did not end with the midnight departure from Egypt or the glorious celebration after crossing the Red Sea.

Having found their voices, some of the freed slaves (the New Historians of their time) soon forgot the miracles that had liberated them, and began to rebel. Others could not adjust to the new conditions, and longed for the return to the "normalcy" of slavery in Egypt, where at least they had garlic and squash to eat. This led to 40 years of wandering in the desert, until the generation of slaves had died and a new generation could enter and settle the Land of Israel.

The events of the Exodus began with the collective sighs of slavery and oppression, and reached their climax in the celebration after crossing the Red Sea. Unity, leadership, and collective action (and divine intervention) provided the necessary elements for freedom from slavery.

Now, we are again told that silent suffering and external sympathy will provide the release from the oppression of terrorism and hatred. If we have learned anything from our history, it is that Jews who are silent will never be free.

The writer is a Senior Research Fellow at the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University.

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# NEWS IN FOCUS

Friday April 12, 1996

## Iran and Syria: A stable alliance against Israel

Even if Jerusalem and Damascus forge a peace accord, this is not likely to upset Iran's alliance with Syria and Hizbullah. Steve Rodan reports



TWO years ago, Hizbullah was declared terminally ill. As Israeli government sources saw it, the Lebanese Shi'ite organization would be an early victim of the expected Israeli-Syrian peace treaty.

Today, Hizbullah is very much alive. It is the leading force in south Lebanon and receives close to \$100 million a year from Iran and wide latitude from Syria. US intelligence officials say Hizbullah's huge network in Latin America was responsible for the bombings of the Israeli Embassy and Jewish community offices in Buenos Aires in the early 1990s.

Even Hizbullah's longtime rival, the Syrian-aligned Amal militia, has bowed to its dominance. Amal now coordinates its attacks on the IDF and South Lebanese Army with Hizbullah in an effort to push the Israeli army from south Lebanon.

So, where did the Israeli assessment go wrong? Arab and Western analysts say the biggest mistake was the forecast that Syria would abandon Iran as its main ally as peace with Israel approaches.

"From both Iran's and Syria's perspectives, an Arab-Israeli settlement is unlikely to affect their mutual interest in maintaining their relationship in the short to medium term," according to a study by the London-based Royal Institute of International Affairs, authored by Hussein Agha and Ahmad Khalidi.

So far, the alliance between Iran and Syria has endured despite the incompatible policies of the two regimes. Iran might be an Islamic republic and Syria a secular nationalist state, but the two countries have demonstrated that they have brisk trade relations as well as a high degree of coordination on strategic issues.

For Syria, Iran represents strategic depth at a time when it no longer has an alliance with

Moscow or the cash to buy Western weapons. Iran has provided Syria with cheap oil, easy credit, and extensive contacts with arms suppliers.

For Iran, Syria is its ticket to the Arab world. Damascus also allows Teheran to gnaw at Israel's border in south Lebanon at a time when Iran feels threatened by what it sees as the Israeli-led efforts to stop the Islamic republic's nuclear weapons program.

"Iran now sees Israel as trying to establish a nuclear monopoly in the Middle East," an Iranian source with close ties to the government says. "The Iranian program has nothing to do with Israel, but by recruiting a worldwide effort Israel is now seen as an enemy."

Take the military aspect of the Iranian-Syrian alliance. Both countries coordinated negotiations with North Korea over the sale of the Scud C missile, which has a range of 900 kilometers. Iran and Syria have been receiving Scud Cs since the early 1990s, with Damascus being the first recipient in 1991 and Teheran obtaining them a year later.

Moreover, Western and Israeli sources say North Korea and Iran have been collaborating on Scud C missile assembly plants at two facilities near Aleppo and Hama. Components for the missiles have been shipped to Syria via Iran and test firings were conducted in both countries.

Western intelligence sources suspect that since at least 1993 Iran and Syria have been cooperating to develop cruise missiles, with technology coming from Europe and Japan.

THE TWO countries also share the same Palestinian allies, namely organizations - such as Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, led

by Ahmed Jibril - which reject any accord with Israel.

Iran's attempts to forge an alliance with the Palestinians are said to have several aims, the most important of which is to obtain influence in the Arab Sunni world.

Another aim is to demonstrate the contrast between revolutionary Iran and the conservative Arab regimes, particularly Teheran's neighbors in the Persian Gulf. Earlier this month, a commentator on state-run Iranian radio warned Arab countries against "approaching or establishing any contact with the Zionist regime in Israel. Differences exist between Arab governments in the region and their peoples regarding the contacts that these official regimes hold with the Zionist regime."

Analysts say that without Iran's fervent adoption of the Palestinian cause Teheran's relations with Damascus could probably not have withstood the strains of the Arab-Iraq war. Syria was the only Arab country to support Shi'ite Iran against Sunni Iraq.

In their study, Agha and Khalidi say the Iranian leadership bases its policy toward Israel on the fundamental assumption that Israel is not interested in true peace. Therefore, any concessions offered to Israel, such as recognition or peaceful coexistence, are regarded as a betrayal of Arab-Muslim historical rights as well as self-defeating.

In broad terms, therefore, the Iranian position brooks no political resolution that precludes the restitution of Palestine to its rightful owners and the right of the refugees to return to their homeland," the study says.

But the argument within Iran has been how far should the Islamic regime take its fight with Israel. The Khomeinist position, adopted by those regarded as the radical clerics, advocates that Iran play a

leading role in a total military struggle. This is supported by elements within the armed forces as well as the Revolutionary Guard.

The position of Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani is to leave the struggle largely to the Palestinians and Syria. Indeed, Rafsanjani is said to have reduced the number of Revolutionary Guards in Lebanon since 1989 in his effort to gain Iranian acceptance in the international community, particularly from the US.

Instead, Rafsanjani has chosen to fight Israel by proxy, largely through Hizbullah, a move trumpeted by Teheran as proof of its commitment to the Moslem struggle against Israel.

But over the past year, the radicals have gained in prominence. They argued that Rafsanjani's policy of seeking rapprochement with the US has been foiled by Israel. The result has been a US-Israeli partnership to stop the Europeans from extending further credit to Teheran, a major element in the country's fiscal crisis.

Quietly, diplomatic sources say, Iranian interest in meeting with Israelis has waned. This, despite continued unofficial efforts by Israel to increase contacts with Teheran, including trade links via third countries.

IRANIAN ANALYSTS say the moderates in the regime will be badly hurt in the next few months. Under the Iranian constitution, Rafsanjani cannot be reelected president after two terms in office. Radical politicians are jockeying for position as the 1997 presidential elections approach.

The election campaign, these analysts say, has led to a more strident Iranian mood. Lebanese Shi'ites train side-by-side with Palestinian Sunnis and Syrian operatives in bases around Iran. Iranian money, they say, is also being

increased to Palestinian opponents of the PLO accord with Israel.

The Iranian offensive, the analysts say, reflects Teheran's main concern that Israel will succeed in forging an alliance with the US and moderate Arab states against Teheran. Among Teheran's nightmares is an Israeli alliance with Iraq, which would isolate Iran.

The Arab alliance against Iran would have at least one specific goal: to stop Teheran from assembling a nuclear bomb.

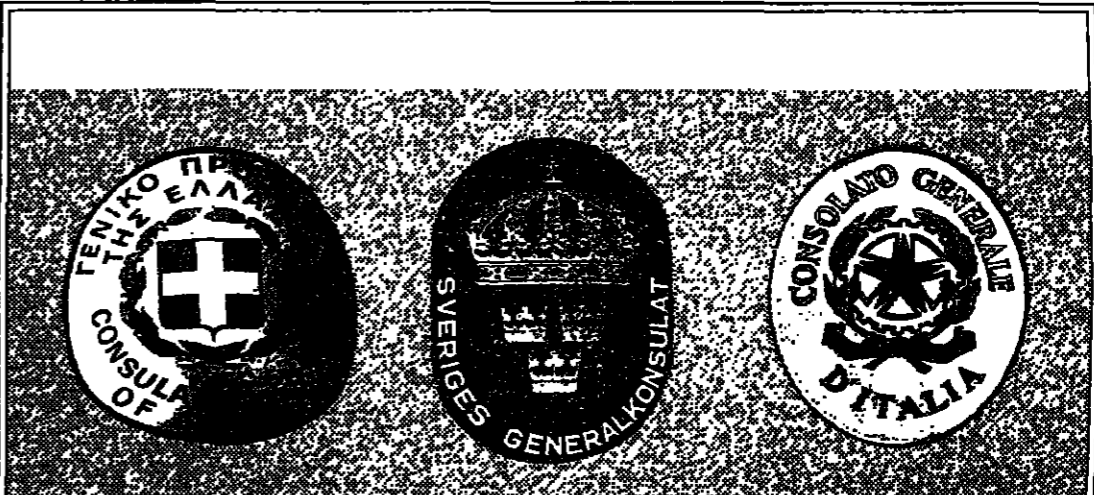
Still, Iranian cooperation with Syria is not without its opponents. Islamic militants term the regime

of President Hafez Assad as a blasphemous one which exploits Teheran. In 1992, a government bill for an agreement with Syria on police cooperation and extradition was opposed by radicals on the grounds that Damascus's position toward Iran was opportunistic.

Iranian officials, however, remain careful not to criticize Syria's role in the Middle East peace talks. The understanding between the two countries, analysts say, is that Syria ignores Iranian intimidation of the Gulf Arab states and Teheran looks away from the Syrian talks with

Israel. Agha and Khalidi say an Israeli-Syrian settlement will affect Damascus's relations with Teheran. But they predict closer ties between Syria and Iran in the wake of a peace treaty as both countries are expected to face a myriad of threats from their neighbors, particularly Turkey.

"In such conditions, new threats and threat perceptions may help to reshape the Syrian-Iranian alliance and create a new set of commonly perceived interests, as well as potential points of friction between the two parties," they say.



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# Brown's cause: Prosperity and peace

As commerce secretary, he linked business to diplomacy; as Democratic leader, he attracted Jews. Hillel Kuttler reports

AMERICAN Commerce Secretary Ron Brown was in Israel in January 1994, just as the news came that a major earthquake had hit Los Angeles. He tried frantically to telephone his daughter, who lives in the city, to be sure that all was OK.

"The concern was so dominant," Brown's host, Industry and Trade Minister Micha Harish, recalled this week, "we dealt with that most of the time. He finally got through near the end of the day. It showed the father side of him."

Nine days ago, a shock of earthquake dimensions hit Washington when 33 Americans, including Brown, died when their plane crashed in Croatia.

"He was a very open person," said Harish, who flew to the US for Wednesday's funeral at Washington National Cathedral. "It was very easy to speak with him personally."

Since Brown's death, the US capital witnessed a mourning period befitting a head of state. In television appearances and public events, somber Democratic Party leaders and African-American figures paid tribute to Brown as an ebullient lover of life, a bridge-builder and the epitome of the American dream.

Brown will probably be best remembered as a recent chairman of the Democratic National Committee who was the driving force in Bill Clinton's 1992 presidential election victory.

Brown's legacy also lies in having carried out what he called "commercial diplomacy" in the Middle East and in other regions on the political mend. He was one of the Clinton Administration's leading advocates of securing peace through economic prosperity, in the process benefiting American businesses.

BROWN SAW both the Middle East and Bosnia, the destination of his fatal trade mis-



Prime minister Yitzhak Rabin watches US commerce secretary Ron Brown sign an agreement setting up the US-Israel Science and Technology Commission in Jerusalem in 1994. (Isaac Harish)

sion, as areas where "the kind of peace which is enhanced by economic openness is in the long run going to pay off for the US in terms of political stability," a White House official said this week.

Judith Barnett, the Commerce Department's principal deputy assistant secretary for trade

development who worked closely with the late secretary on Middle East matters, said, "The marvelous work the peace team did, [Brown] was able to lift off the paper."

"He brought [American] CEOs everywhere. In Gaza, with the [chief executive officers] of humongous corporations, he explained to them

why obstacles are just so short-range, and in the long-run they had to rebuild strong economies."

BROWN, BY Harish's estimate, visited Israel seven times in that pursuit and they met "at least 13 times" - more than Harish has met

with his counterpart from any other country. The meetings included exchanges of trade delegations and semiannual meetings of the US-Israel Science and Technology Commission chaired by Harish and Brown since its founding in 1994.

Brown also spearheaded the February 7, 1995, summit of the Israeli, Palestinian, Egyptian and Jordanian trade ministers in Taba. It produced the Taba Declaration, a plan for promoting trade within the region and with the US, and for ending the Arab boycott.

Brown was to have returned to Israel this spring for the next gathering of the commission, and was also scheduled to go to Petra for a follow-up meeting of the Taba ministers' forum.

BECAUSE OF his having managed Jesse Jackson's 1984 and 1988 presidential campaigns, Brown was considered suspect by some Jews when he ran for the DNC chairmanship in the late 1980s.

His first prominent Jewish supporter was Steve Grossman, who later headed the Massachusetts Democratic Party and served as president of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee.

He raised money for Brown's successful run against Rick Weiner, the Jewish chairman of the Michigan Democratic Party, and rallied the support of key Jewish activists.

The party's platform had offered mixed support for Israel and eight state party organizations had passed anti-Israel resolutions. "It was one of [Brown's] highest priorities to rebuild the relationship between the Jewish community and the Democratic Party," Grossman said. "He was determined to make the '92 platform the most pro-Israel - and he did."

A day before leaving for Taba, Brown spoke with *The Jerusalem Post* - in an interview arranged by his press secretary Carol Hamilton, who was also killed in the crash - about how the summit dovetailed with the administration's policy in the region.

"As peace comes to the region, the expectations of the people are obviously significantly raised," Brown said, his infant grandchildren cooing in the background as he spoke on the telephone. "And in order to meet those expectations for a better life and a higher standard of living, we have to focus on regional economic development."

## No sugar to coat the pill of closure

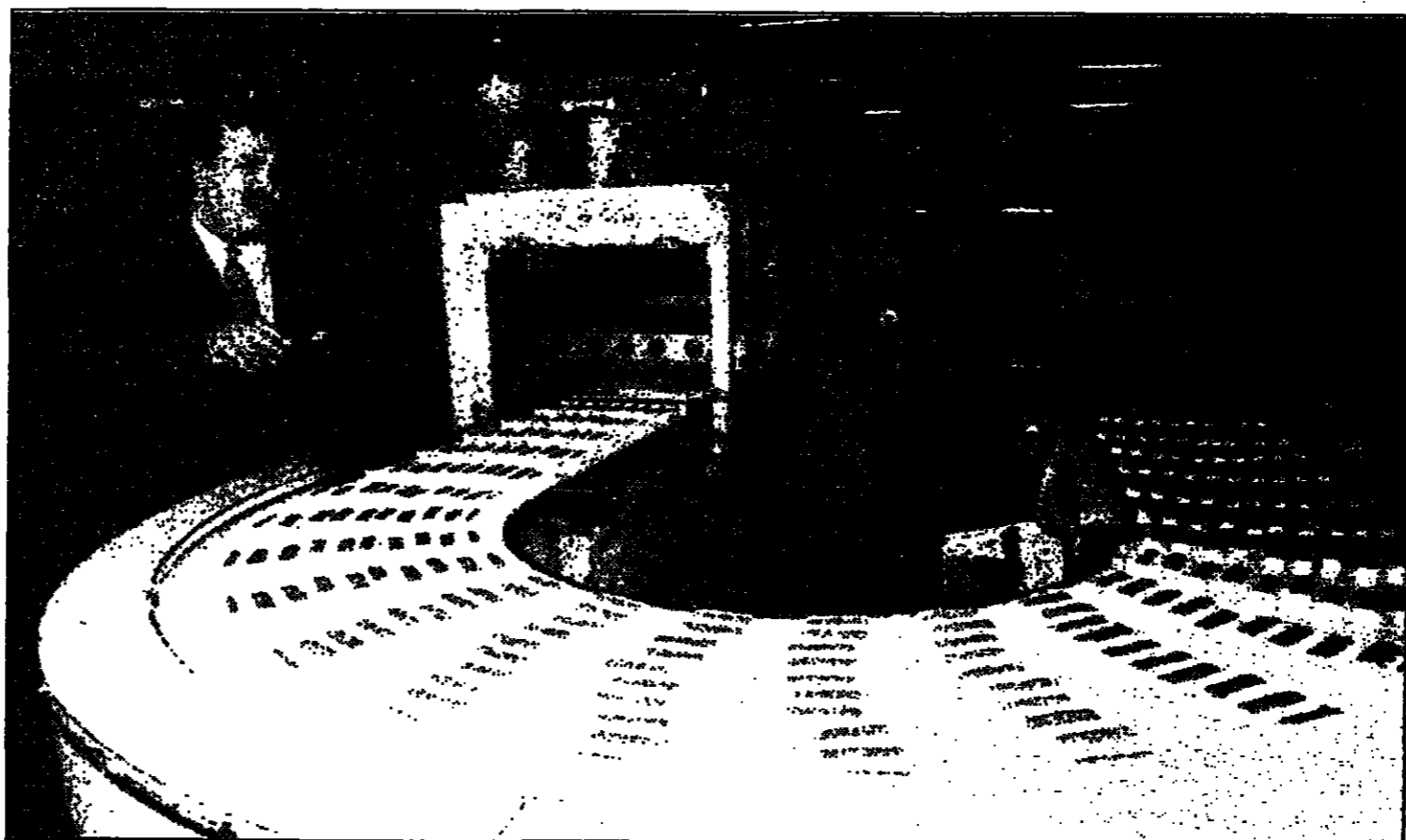
Palestinian businessmen are suffering from the economic effects of the closure, Bill Hutman reports

THE delicious aroma of chocolates and cakes that overtakes the visitor entering the Sinokrot candy factory, located in the heart of the Palestinian Authority self-rule areas, is deceiving.

Once you are inside, the sight of colorful candies piling up at the end of long production lines may conjure up childhood longings of being let loose in a candy store.

It's tempting to grab a handful of caramel-and-nut-filled chocolate bars or strawberry-flavored jaw-breakers.

But Sinokrot Food Company is no Willie Wonka's Chocolate Factory. This is modern-day Ramallah, where even the transformation from the rock-throwing days of the intifada to the era of Palestinian self-rule has brought little relief.



Mazen Sinokrot surveys a cake machine at his Ramallah factory. (Khaled Zighari)

"It seems like business will continue to suffer until the political situation has become more clear," says Mazen Sinokrot, the 42-year-old company president, who also heads the Palestinian Food Producers Organization. "We believe that the Palestinian Authority should be doing much more to help improve the Palestinian economy."

"But we are not passing judgment on the Palestinian Authority. We realize that after nearly 30 years of Israeli occupation it is unfair to expect solutions overnight. The Palestinian

Authority must be given a chance to show what it can do," he says. But the fact remains that Palestinian businessmen are facing an ever-deteriorating economic situation. The economic windfall that peace with Israel was promised to bring has yet to come about, and to many it can't be seen even on the horizon.

The latest blow to the Palestinian economy has been the closure of the territories, implemented immediately after the first of the wave of Hamas suicide bombings in Jerusalem on February 25, and subsequently tightened when the

bombings continued.

Six weeks later, virtually all Palestinian workers are forbidden from entering the country, and even commerce between Palestinian businesses in Judea and Samaria with those in Gaza has been largely cut off by an unprecedented strict closure.

A senior government source says little change in closure policy is expected in the near future. "We realize that the closure has severe effects in Gaza and the West Bank... But the Palestinians have to realize that our number one concern is security, and while

there is still intelligence information about the possibility of attacks, we have little choice but to maintain the closure."

The source, noting that the Dizengoff bombing was carried out by a terrorist who hid in the back of a truck carrying goods from Gaza, says this is why the present closure affects commerce and not just the flow of laborers.

FOR Sinokrot, the prospects of a continued closure spells economic disaster. He has already begun to lay off workers and cut back production, and expects this trend to

continue.

"This is not just my problem," he says. "What's happening at my factory is happening to Palestinian factories all over the place. It's not just the factory owners being hurt, but the workers who are being laid off and who have no way to earn a living."

Sinokrot sales have dropped 60 percent during the closure, so company trucks are not permitted to enter Gaza - the major market for Sinokrot candies - says the company president.

The Ramallah-based company normally has 250 workers on its payroll. Usually at this time of the year, with the Id al-Adha feast approaching, the workforce is increased up to two-fold. But this year the Sinokrot workforce has been cut by nearly 25%.

Sinokrot says the present downturn in the candy business reflects not only the adverse economic standing of Palestinians, but also their morale.

"When a father has been out of work for a couple of weeks he may think twice about giving his children a few shekels to buy candy," Sinokrot says. "On the other hand candy is inexpensive so it can't be counted with other luxury items people do without."

Candy is often bought for celebrations - whether birthday parties or religious feasts - and when the national mood is depressed, people feel less inclined to celebrate and buy candy, Sinokrot says.

Sinokrot recognizes that Israeli companies are also being affected by the closure. Sitting at his large desk - with two computer terminals at one end, a tray of chocolate candy bars on the other end - he says that his company, for example, purchases 80% of its supplies from Israeli companies. The drop in sales has naturally resulted in a drop in those purchases.

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# How fair are interviewers?

EYE ON THE MEDIA  
GUEST COLUMNIST ELISHA BABAD

ONE of the most nagging questions about the media, pertinent particularly in an election year, is whether interviewers can be fair. That they have their own political views is a given. In Israel, true "neutrality" does not exist, nor should it. But professional interviewers should be able to overcome their own biases and treat all interviewees equitably.

Is there any way of measuring their performance? On March 13, Amnon Nadav, the head of Israel Radio, declared on No Man's Land, a TV program devoted to the media, that a method for assessing the treatment of interviewees "hasn't been invented yet."

My experience as a social psychologist enables me to challenge this. I undertook to conduct a study in which I examined the nonverbal communication and body language of premier TV interviewer Dan Shilon in his much-advertised Channel 2 talks with Shimon Peres (on January 1, 1996) and Benjamin Netanyahu (on February 5, 1996) in parallel 90-minute sessions.

Following procedures established in previous research on

nonverbal communication of teachers, judges, doctors and TV broadcasters, I isolated from the video recordings of the two interviews all instances in which only Shilon was seen and heard.

There were altogether 143 separate clips, lasting from two to 17 seconds. These clips were then recorded in a mixed order on a new cassette, and shown to 109 American students who were told that numerous unseen interviewees were involved. They had never heard of Dan Shilon and did not understand Hebrew.

The students were asked to rate Shilon's expressions, body language and general attitude toward the unseen interviewee for each of the 143 clips on a scale ranging from "very negative" to "very positive."

When their responses to the clips were later averaged to summarize Shilon's behavior toward the two candidates there was a decisive difference, showing high statistical significance, and a huge "effect magnitude." Nonverbally, Shilon treated Peres much more positively than he treated Netanyahu.

Another analysis, which used the middle cutoff point between

negative and positive ratings, found that nearly two-thirds of the Peres clips were positive (63%) whereas two-thirds of the Netanyahu clips (66%) were negative.

In another part of the study, a group of Israelis who were familiar with Shilon and were also told that numerous unseen interviewees were involved, saw these video clips without speech so as to separate verbal content from nonverbal behavior. They were asked to rate Shilon's facial expressions and body language. The results were similar to those of the American viewers: preferential treatment of Peres, negative treatment of Netanyahu.

In yet another independent analysis, I counted the number of times Shilon interrupted, or tried to interrupt, Peres's and Netanyahu's flow of speech. The difference was dramatic: during the 90-minute presumably parallel interviews, Shilon interrupted Peres 48 times and Netanyahu 151 times. Consequently, the average length of Peres's uninter-

rupted speech was over 30 seconds long, whereas the average length of Netanyahu's uninterupted speech was less than 19 seconds long.

In light of these findings, I raised and discussed several questions and issues:

- 1) Was this difference accidental? Could it be that Shilon had a bad day and was in a bad mood when interviewing Netanyahu?
- This is not very probable and would anyway be extremely unprofessional and irresponsible in lengthy interviews with the two major candidates for prime minister.
- 2) Could it be that the interviewee caused Shilon to react differently by his own conduct, that is, did Netanyahu irritate and anger Shilon in his interview?
- To examine this interpretation I analyzed the first five Shilon clips in each interview (when Shilon was still "acting" and not yet "reacting") and found the same preferential difference.
- 3) Is it possible that only the verbal content of the interview is

important and that focusing on the isolated instances of nonverbal behavior is unimportant or even misleading?

A growing body of research indicates that people use nonverbal cues as crucial information for decoding emotional attitudes, that nonverbal behavior is often more "truthful" and betrays attitudes speakers try to conceal, and that nonverbal cues play a major role in perceiving and assessing other people.

4) Is it humanly possible to overcome one's views and preferences and behave in a totally objective and equitable way?

Probably not, and evidence of some bias can be expected. Actors are trained to attain total control of their nonverbal behavior and are evaluated on that basis, but TV interviewers cannot be expected to reach such control.

But given their great impact on large audiences and the public responsibility their role entails, TV broadcasters must be required to be acutely aware of the fair

treatment issue, and to avoid blatant favoritism.

In another study of shorter TV interviews by half a dozen interviewers, I found that no one was totally fair and all behaved differently with different interviewees. But whereas some showed only slight traces of favoritism, others were blatantly preferential. Shilon's favoritism toward Peres compared to his negative treatment of Netanyahu was extremely high compared to other TV interviewers.

5) What can be actually done to reduce interviewers' preferential treatment and increase media fairness?

This is the most crucial issue, and it depends most critically on the media's openness to criticism and willingness to change. I would emphasize three elements in potential corrective action:

- a) Evidence. To reduce preferential treatment, broadcasters must become aware of indisputable evidence of behavioral favoritism. Media Watch organizations, committed to the collection of such evidence, can play a crucial role in this. Empirical scientific evidence is always prefer-

able to impressions and opinions, because impressions are bound to be dismissed as biased.

- b) Motivation. Even if complete objectivity is not humanly attainable, one can always improve. A combination of a willingness to improve and sensitivity to public criticism can make improvement likely. The toughest obstacles are complacency and resistance to feedback.
- c) Behavioral change. Interviewers can exercise more self-control on specific behavioral manifestations which are controllable and changeable. They can consciously balance the number of times they interrupt each interviewee: avoid showing excessive positive affect to their favorites and negative reactions to their political opponents; observe and scrutinize tapes of their programs and discover how they transmit positive and negative messages.

It may also help if interviewers realize that their transparent favoritism may boomerang by reducing their credibility and increasing viewers' sympathy for victimized interviewees.

The author is a social psychologist at the Hebrew University.

## The Jews always yearned but relatively few came

THERE IS that ironic Jewish explanation, characteristically self-mocking, of why Messiah hasn't landed yet to bring about the Final Redemption.

On the eve of the first Pessah after the Great Exile began 1,926 years ago, he set out from Heaven to redeem us. He thought we were ready for the Great Redemption, having just purged our precincts of all physical sourdough and, presumably, ourselves of the spiritual sourdough.

He approached just as our ancestors were concluding their Seder enthusiastically chanting, "Next year in Jerusalem!"

"Next year"? Well, if that's what they want...

Messiah returned to his Heavenly base.

Half a year later he set out again, to bring about a post-Rosh Hashana/Yom Kippur redemption, after the Jews had atoned for their sins. He approached just as the Jews were winding up the Yom Kippur service exclaiming, "Next year in Jerusalem!"

"Next year"? Well, if that's what they want...

He has been trying ever since, and each time he hears, "Next year..."

A VIEW FROM NOV  
MOSHE KOHN

to go to, but because they had some vision of Jewish national restoration in our ancestral homeland.

This failure follows the pattern laid down by our ancestors in the Exodus 33 centuries ago, when most didn't want to leave Egypt and most of those who did leave wanted to go right back.

We repeated our folly 2,500 years ago, when only a small portion of those whom Nebuchadnezzar exiled to Babylonia took up Cyrus's invitation a little later to return and rebuild Jerusalem and the Temple.

We ignored the hospitality offered us by the Ottoman sultan Suleiman the Magnificent during his 40-year reign (1520-1566).

We ignored the opportunity offered us when the country's gates were wide open during much of the early years of the British occupation after World War I.

And again, in our own time, except for the above-mentioned minority and besides those million and a half who have come from various "lands of distress," we have continued to monstrously ignore the opportunities presented by the re-establishment of the Jewish state and by our stunning victory in the 1967 war of self-defense.

Nevertheless, praying Jews everywhere continue to express their fealty to and longing for Jerusalem at least three times daily, and others do so in their various fashions.

At least they do that, following, unknowingly, the advice of Rabbi Nahman of Bratzlav: Every Jew should go to Eretz Yisrael. If you can't go, you should at least yearn for the Land.

And it is in that seedbed of emigrants and yearners that there sprouted the corners and doors. These included not only those who continued in their parents' religious path.

Ironically, in the past century, the corners and doors have been mainly those who, having been nurtured on their parents' prayers and longings and deciding to act on them, blamed our history of Exile on what they regarded as their forebears' blind adherence to tradition and cut themselves off

from the wellsprings of those yearnings.

They cut themselves and their progeny off from the Jewish past and from the wellsprings of Jewish memory, hence cutting their progeny off from Jewish hope and the Jewish future.

IT IS told of Napoleon that during his Russian campaign he happened into a synagogue in Poland on Tisha Be'av Eve, when the Jews were assembled there chanting the Book of Lamentations and the dirges bemoaning the Great Destruction and the Exile.

When the scene was explained to him, he remarked: "A people that remembers to mourn so long the loss of its homeland is sure to regain that homeland."

More recently, in 1882, an American Christian visitor who observed the Tisha Be'av Eve service at the Western Wall wrote:

"After this exhibition, and in the full blaze of history, one cannot help but feel that this is especially the city of the Jews. Christians may fight for and hold its holy places; Moslems may guard from all other eyes the tombs of David and Solomon; the site of the temple on Mount Moriah may be decorated by the mosques of Omar and Aksh; but if ever there was a material object on earth closely allied with a people, it is this city of Jerusalem with the Jews..."

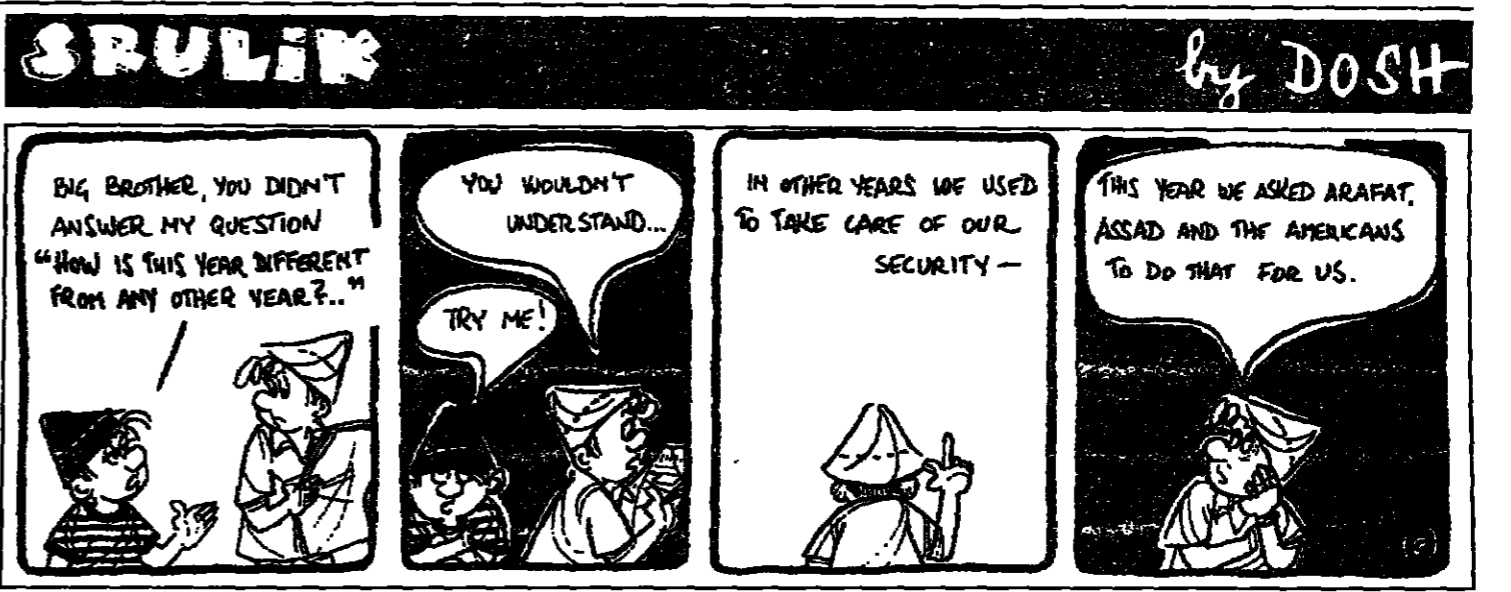
The writer was Samuel S. "Sunset" Cox (1824-1889), newspaper editor and publisher, US minister to Turkey, and from 1857 till his death Congressman representing districts in his native Ohio and then New York.

He described his visit to Eretz Yisrael in *Orient Sunbeams; or From the Pyramids by the Way of Palestine*.

Jerusalem's Prof. Moshe Davis cites Cox in his *America and the Holy Land*, volume 4 of his fascinating "Eyes to Zion" series, published by Praeger, Westport, CT and London.

Incidentally, when Cox was here the Jews were already the largest religious group in Jerusalem. Shortly afterwards we were a majority.

(Thanks to Ralph Amelan of the American Cultural Center in Jerusalem for the biographical details on Cox.)



## Losses and gains

SHABBAT SHALOM  
SHLOMO RISKIN

"And it came to pass on the eighth day, that Moses called Aaron and his sons, and the elders of Israel, and said to Aaron: 'Take you a young calf for a sin offering, and a ram for a burnt offering, without blemish, and offer them before God.'" (Leviticus 9:1-2)

AFTER seven days of consecrating the priestly appointments of Aaron and his sons, Moses summons Aaron, commanding more sacrifices to be brought, after which God's glory will be revealed.

This week's portion, *Shmini*, opens with Aaron, helped by his sons, heeding the instructions for the sacrifices. Suddenly, the flesh of the animals is consumed by a flash-fire from heaven. Recognizing this as the glory of God, the people raise their voices in praise, and prostrate themselves.

Perhaps driven by the ecstasy in the air, two of Aaron's sons, Nadab and Abihu, take fire pans and offer incense to God. But since this offering was unauthorized, another fire swoops down, killing the two lads on the spot.

Precisely because it takes place at a moment that should have been the highest spiritual attainment of the Jewish people since Sinai, and a particularly gratifying experience for Aaron the High Priest, the death of these two princes is a stunning blow, transforming national celebration into mourning.

Why such a terrible punishment?

Rashi quotes two Talmudic traditions as to why Nadab and Abihu die when they bring the "strange fire".

Rabbi Yishmael explains that their offering was unauthorized because they brought it while intoxicated. This understanding is supported six verses later, when God commands Aaron: "When you enter the Communion Tent, neither you nor your descendants may drink wine nor any other intoxicant." (Lev. 10:9)

Rabbi Eliezer suggests that Nadab and Abihu had ruled on a halachic issue in the presence of Moses, and a student must never decide a law when his teacher/master is right there.

In addition to these reasons, the Midrash

speaks of their hurry to step into the shoes of Aaron and Moses: "When these old men die, we will lead the nation!" For this hubris, fire consumes them.

THESE EXPLANATIONS would maintain that the offering of Nadab and Abihu was a sin. But there may be another way to view their action. After all, in the next verse, Moses says to Aaron: "This is exactly what God meant when He said, 'Through them that are close to me I will be sanctified.'" (Lev. 10:3)

Rebbe Elimelech of Lizhensk, the great Hasidic master, takes the Midrash which expresses the hubris of Nadab and Abihu, and turns it on its head. Not hubris but humility guided Aaron's sons. The last thing in the world they wanted to do was step into their masters' shoes. Their words should be understood not as impatient expectation, but rather as a childlike question: "When these elders die, will we lead the nation?"

Why did Rebbe Elimelech feel the need to interpret the verse this way? He looked for merit rather than blame, and lifted Nadab and Abihu from beneath the literal meaning of the midrashic text. But is such an explanation justified?

I was once invited to join the March of the Living, my first visit to the death camps in Europe. It was during that trip that I was able to visit the obscure Polish town where my grandmother grew up. To me, the legacy of Europe was represented by my grandmother.

I have had the opportunity to study from and be exposed to the great leaders of the post-war generation: Rabbi Joseph Soloveitchik, my outstanding teacher and mentor, Rabbi Moshe Feinstein and the Lubavitcher Rebbe. These were the princes of Jewry, whom we could call the "remnants of the Sages."

It is these individuals - truly Torah giants - who carried that glorious heritage to America's shores and enabled us to catch a glimpse of what had been. They provided a

much-needed bridge.

NOW, WE stand at a major crossroads. There is no longer a Reb Moshé, or a Rabbi Soloveitchik. The last living links to the past are disappearing before our eyes. And it is easy to despair, because we have yet to witness a student worthy to inherit their mantle.

Then I remember Rebbe Elimelech's comment on the deaths of Nadab and Abihu. When the old men die, what will we do? Will we be capable of leading this generation?

But nevertheless, it is wrong to despair. The laws of inheritance reveal an amazing concept. (B.T. *Brachot*, Chapter 9). Upon the death of a father, the heir makes two blessings. The first, usually intoned at the loss of a loved one, recognizes "the True Judge." The second is the blessing upon receiving a gift. "Blessed art Thou... who has granted us life and sustenance and permitted us to reach this season." The Sages chose this blessing because, even in death's shadow, life and sustenance are passing to the next generation. We have to be aware of what we lost, but we also have to be aware of what we gained.

The European Torah model for hundreds of years came to a tragic end with the Holocaust. Once the last yeshiva head who learned in Mir or Baranovitch or Kletz dies, it is the end of a tradition. Those who were privileged to have received the *mesora* of Torah from these figures understand the depth of the loss, mourning what once was, so many thousands of scholars and their holy writings now nothing but ashes.

But this is only half the story. There is still a *shehehivenu* to make. Because even though the great days of European Jewry are gone, there is a living inheritance of Torah. Even as we mourn the generation that was destroyed, we must also recite *shehehivenu* for the legacy we have received.

And hopefully it is that legacy which will enable our frail shoulders to carry the glorious heritage which they epitomized.

*Shabbat Shalom*

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It is the ability to choose proper nesting sites that has such a great impact on breeding success. The females are far choosier than the males...

A cultural chapter in Jewish history

CHESS NICK KOPALOFF

THE Jewish people's obsession with dialectics is arguably the main reason that so many Jews have been attracted to the game of chess...

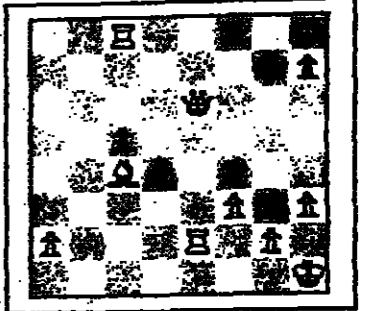


DIAGRAM 1 43.Qe5! and the rook on f8 must fall 1-0. If Greenfeld had opted for the same idea with 43.Qe5 he would have been in for a nasty surprise...

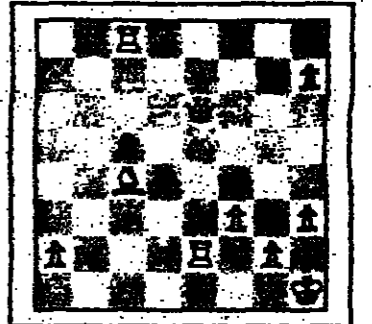


DIAGRAM 2 Solution: 1.Qd8+ Kxd8 2.Bg5+ Kx8 2...Kc7 3.Bd8+ 3.Rd8++ 1-0

CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

- ACROSS 1 Spot of trouble (4,5) 6 Try endlessly in the open-air to get a fish (6) 9 An incoherent speaker rose (7) 10 Thrown when bareback (9) 11 Announce that one will issue copies of the book (7) 12 Outstanding amount of work first for a small creature (7) 13 He discovers instruction for a receiver (9-6) 18 Her dove fluttered and remained suspended (7) 20 One in France in green perhaps making progress towards a star (7)

Crossword grid with numbers indicating starting positions for clues.

Second crossword grid with clues for across and down.

Advertisement for Cross Townsend pens, featuring a fountain pen and the text 'A collection of fine writing instruments that embody the unique design of the Art Deco Age'.

Advertisement for 'Say it with flowers' featuring illustrations of flowers and people, with text about the language of flowers.

GARDENING INEZ KLIMST article discussing the symbolism of various flowers like the carnation, rose, and daisy.

Advertisement for the Terror Victims Association (TVA) featuring Mr. Marcel Hess, with contact information for their office in Jerusalem.

Advertisement for Camp Kanfei Nesharim, a Hebrew travel camp in Australia, New Zealand, and Israel, with details about a special trip to Israel.

Advertisement for The Jerusalem Post newspaper, highlighting its international distribution in 103 countries and its availability in English and French.



# 'Include Christians in peace process' - Lebanese exile

A COMPREHENSIVE Middle East peace process should include arrangements with minorities like Lebanese Christians, the Kurds and southern Sudanese Christians - perhaps even Moslem minority groups such as Druse and Shi'ites, according to a Lebanese Christian leader living in exile.

Dr. Walid Fares, president of the World Lebanese Organization, told *The Jerusalem Post* in a recent interview in Jerusalem that the Lebanese Christian diaspora is very concerned about the future of Lebanon in general and its Christian population in particular, in the context of any peace agreement between Israel and Syria.

BATSHEVA TSUR

Christians) may in the end bring higher risks [which could be] very costly to democracies and historical dreams."

Fares, now a political science professor at Florida International University in Miami, said these concerns had been mentioned in letters to President Bill Clinton and members of his administration. And, he said, if minorities are excluded from the peace process, "wounds could open in the future which would develop into ethnic and religious clashes threatening the security and stability of the entire region."

"With the rise of Islamic fundamentalism from Algeria to the [Persian] Gulf, one should be very careful in planning political solutions for regions with complex problems," he said, implying that Israel should take a tougher stand in the peace negotiations.

"On the one hand, there is American pressure to achieve a series of 'microwave solutions' to fit US domestic political interests. But such treaties will not guarantee the signatories a halt in the rise of fundamentalism."

Fares said "there is always room to maneuver for a better strategic result." He warned that "treaties signed with authoritarian regimes at the expense of human rights and the survival of nations, (such as Israel) or minorities (such as Lebanon's

Five years ago, when Syria took over east Beirut, Fares went into exile. Before that he had been secretary-general of Lebanon's Social Democratic Christian Party, working as a lawyer and teaching at St Joseph's Jesuit University.

He has also been secretary-general of the World Maronite Union since 1986 and is currently copresident of the Middle East Christian Committee - a coalition of Christian minorities including Assyrians, Copts, southern Sudanese and Lebanese.

Fares has published eight books on both ethnic conflict and the Islamic revolution in Iran. His recent visit to Jerusalem was by invitation to lecture at the meeting of the International Christian Zionist Congress.

THE world media, Fares said, have created misconceptions about the Christian minorities in the Middle East. Usually the media portray Middle East Christians as though they are Palestinian Christians. "But these are only the smallest minority of Middle-Eastern Christians. There are non-Arab Christians who form the overwhelming majority of the group in the region, [though] there are of course Christians who are ethnically Arab - Palestinians, Jordanians and Syrians."

The non-Arab Christians he listed included 12 million Copts in Egypt, seven million Africans in South Sudan, the Assyro-Chaldeans of North Iraq, 1.5 million Lebanese Christians (Maronites and others) and the Armenians. "All of these are ethnically non-Arab, descendants of the indigenous inhabitants of the Middle East prior to the seventh-century Arab conquest."

"Unfortunately the interna-

tional community doesn't know enough about the existence, plight and suffering of these forgotten nations," he added. "Ironically, it is the opinions of the spokesmen of the minority Arab Christians that are reported, such as Hanan Ashrawi or the patriarchs in Jerusalem. But human rights are abused throughout the Middle East."

Fares said Lebanon's Christians have suffered the most in the past 20 years.

"Their difficult situation has included bombardment, ethnic cleansing (including the displacement of the population in the Shouf Mountains from 1983 to 1985), and the massacre and displacement of Christians in Damour, Ayshia and Tel Abbas in 1976."

Since the collapse of the Christian resistance in 1990 the community has been subjected to political repression. A number of its leaders have been exiled and the remainder silenced. "The last voice of Christian opposition in the country is that of the Maronite patriarch, Monseigneur Peter Sfeir," said Fares.

He said more effort should be deployed to promote peace trends and democratization within Arab Moslem societies "before seeking completed diplomatic objectives." And that the international community must not leave Israel alone to battle fundamentalism and radicalism.

There must be a massive [international] campaign to enforce human rights, to seek self-determination for minorities, to eliminate terrorism, and to support democracy for the Arab world. This is a preparatory step for getting a really just and lasting peace."

As the Christian year 2000 approaches, Fares has one wish for his own waning community in Lebanon: "In even darker ages they were able to emerge from the ashes. I hope they will do so again - like the Phoenix, the symbol of our Phoenician ancestors."



Two PKK Kurdish rebels with their hands tied sit on top of a hill this week after they were captured by Turkish soldiers during an offensive against the PKK Kurdish guerrillas on the mountains near the southeast province of Diyarbakir. (Reuters)

# Arafat faces up to growing West Bank-Jordan challenge

ANALYSIS  
PINHAS INBARI

PALESTINIAN leader Yasser Arafat's visit to the West Bank last week was a far cry from previous trips during the period of IDF redeployment, when he presented himself as the liberator of West Bank cities from Israeli occupation.

This time the cheering crowds were gone. Instead, Arafat faced stormy demonstrations in Ramallah and total apathy in Nablus.

He should by now realize the warm welcome he received at the end of last year was no more than an illusion, and it may be extremely difficult for him to consolidate his position in the West Bank.

Interestingly, it is worth noting that it was the Fatah movement in Ramallah and Nablus (or at least the major faction inside Fatah) which has been organizing the demonstrations against the PA over the last two weeks. If Arafat cannot rely on the Fatah movement, whom can he rely on?

But, for all his faults, Arafat has never been the type to give up easily. Once he recognized the obstacles in the West Bank, he decided to fight back.

In future it is likely he will pay more attention to the West Bank and might spend longer periods in Nablus, Ramallah and Jenin - with special emphasis on Ramallah because of its proximity to Jerusalem.

This is not only linked to the importance of Jerusalem as the putative capital of the hoped-for Palestine, but also because Arafat may now see the political leadership of Jerusalem and Ramallah as the greatest challenge to his authority.

The fact that on his last visit to Ramallah Arafat was confronted by Bir Zeit students only sharpened his awareness of this.

In two developments last week, the West Bank branch of Fatah displayed a stance closer to Hamas than to the PA. It sided with Hamas in demanding that PA police officers responsible for storming Najah University in Nablus, two weeks ago should be fired.

It is with this background that the new initiative launched to reach a PA-Hamas agreement should be viewed, although the chances of success here are no better than former ones - nil.

But this time Amman, not Cairo or Khartoum, has been chosen as the site of the meetings. Neither will the Palestinian delegation be composed of Gaza figures as before, but of West Bank figures - an amalgam of Fatah, the Popular Front, and Hamas.

A closer look at the delegation - the head of Fatah in the West

Bank, Marwan Barghout, Hamas leader Jamil Hamami and Popular Front leader Riad al-Malki - makes it clear this is not Arafat's delegation. It is an Orient House delegation. At the same time, Faisal Husseini was in Amman.

There is no guarantee this delegation can achieve an agreement with Hamas. But symbolically, it returns Amman to its role as the focal center of Palestinian activity - rather than Cairo, which Arafat wants as center stage. Here the West Bank leadership is making clear its desire to maintain strong relations with Jordan, and not to sacrifice them to Arafat's affair with Egypt.

Hamas leaders in the West Bank refused to take part in Cairo-based negotiations in the past and the PA delegates were Gaza-oriented PLO leaders.

Arafat understands well the link between West Bank leaders and Jordan and, it may be deduced, decided to oppose it. This week he chose to go to Saudi Arabia, not to Jordan, immediately after his troubled visit to Ramallah and Nablus.

While West Bank leaders will continue trying to restore to Amman its former influence in

Palestinian affairs, Arafat will try to persuade the Saudis to help him to foil it.

After first approving the delegation's trip to Amman, he surprised everyone at a later PA meeting in Nablus by suddenly withdrawing his approval and declaring there was no point in further negotiations with Hamas because the fundamentalists had not changed their hostile attitude to the PA.

Arafat also accused "certain Arab states" - code for Jordan, as "certain foreign states" is code for Iran - of using Hamas to weaken the PA.

Hence Arafat declared himself ready to resume talks with opposition PLO organizations instead of Hamas - such as the Popular Front of George Habash, Naif Hawatmeh's Democratic Front, and the pro-Iraqi Arab Front.

One might suppose Arafat's decision to withdraw his personal approval of Husseini's mission to Amman was a result of the unrelentingly sharp language of recent Hamas leaflets.

But in the past, such propaganda never deterred him from meeting Hamas.

Leaflets do not provide the explanation. Arafat's primary concern is to prevent the West Bank leaders dragging Jordan into West Bank affairs through the back door in the form of negotiations with Hamas in Amman.

## Turkey-Iran relations strained by spy claims

TURKISH media allegations that Iran is out to destabilize the secular Moslem nation have fueled a diplomatic crisis based more on speculation than facts, Turkish analysts say.

The allegations - resting on a police-obtained confession from a Turk who says he killed a prominent secular writer and had been trained in Iran - led Turkey this week to ask Teheran to recall some of its diplomats.

But the incident blew up when Teheran responded on Tuesday by accusing Turkish diplomats in Iran of spying and called on Ankara to bring the four home.

Turkish officials denied the diplomats were spying in Iran's East Azerbaijan - where many ethnic Turks live - but the claims and counterclaims threatened to shatter the fairly good relations the two have always shared.

"This incident has been led too

much by speculation," said Kamran Inan, a parliamentarian from the ruling conservative Motherland party and a former Turkish envoy to NATO.

"Every day there were headlines in the papers accusing Iran after [Iran] Cagirci was arrested and, unfortunately, we, as a people, were unable to react coolheadedly," he said.

The crisis with Iran comes as Turks are still reeling from December national elections, when the pro-Islamic party narrowly came in first.

The 21 percent win by the Islamists - they were shut out from government by a minority conservative coalition - spread fears that Turkey's fiercely secular state was under attack.

Turkey's fears were further fueled when Teheran applauded the showing by the pro-Islamic Welfare Party and said this would make Turkey more pro-Islamic in its policies.

## EU 'troika' to visit Middle East next week

A European Union delegation led by Italy will visit six Middle Eastern countries next week to stress the bloc's support for the peace process and efforts to combat extremist violence, Italian diplomats said.

The April 15-18 tour is to take place in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt and Syria, the diplomats said. It follows a similar visit by the

same delegation to Iran last week to assess prospects for continuing the EU's dialogue with it.

Tentative plans by the delegation to travel from Teheran to the Libyan capital Tripoli fell through. The diplomats said Libya had agreed to a visit but a date had yet to be set.

"It will take place as soon as possible following next week's trip," one diplomat said.

The EU delegation is made up of senior foreign ministry officials from Spain, Ireland and Italy, which holds the EU's rotating presidency.

Its tour was agreed to in March by foreign ministers following the suicide bombings in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Ashkelon by Hamas and Islamic Jihad, which threatened to derail the peace process.

The foreign ministers called on

Iran at the time to condemn all forms of terrorism "once and for all."

Teheran denies charges by the US, Israel and the Palestinian Authority that it finances groups such as Hamas.

EU countries, many with close trade ties with Iran, have faced pressure from Israel and the US to isolate Teheran following the bombings in Israel.

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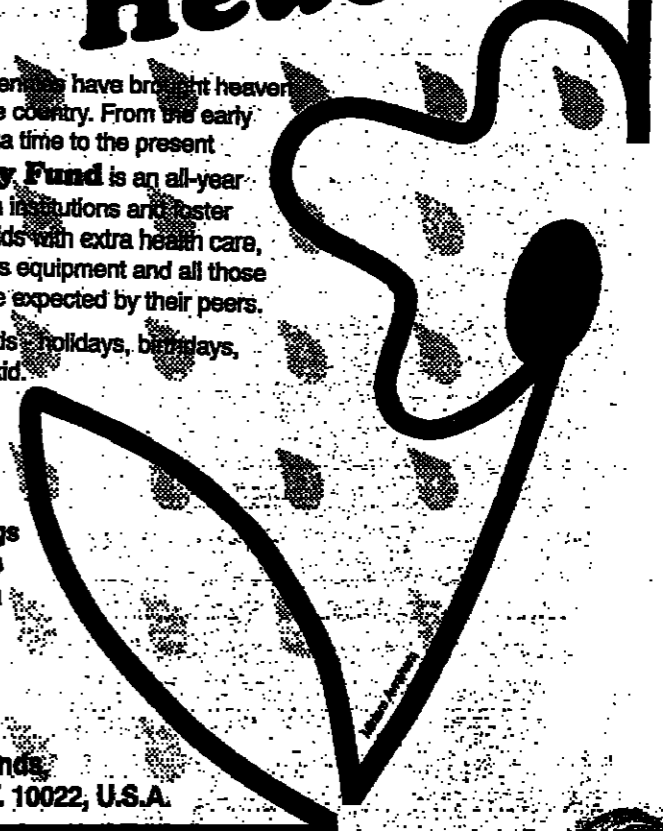
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DJ Transport 2304.4 -0.48

Other stock market indexes
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1000 Nikkei average 2198.4 -0.31

Israeli stocks in NY

NYSE / AMEX
Am & Pco 55.26 -0.37%
Amel A 2.5 0
Amel B 1.18 0

(All data are closing quotes)
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FOREIGN MONEY MARKETS

Dollar crossrates (US)
Pound spot 1.5117 0
Dollar 6 months 1.3114 -0.0016

Libor rates

3 months 5.5313 0
6 months 5.5303 0
9 months 5.5293 0

Foreign financial data courtesy of

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Cotton (May) (CE) 11.71 -0.14

London commodities

Crude (May) (CO) 1.937 +0.06
Cotton (May) (CE) 11.71 -0.14

Spot market metals (US)

Copper spot 185.76 0
Silver spot 9.37 0

New York metal futures

Gold (Jun) 389.3 +0.6
Silver (May) 5.662 +0.07

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Multi-sided trading
Name Price % Change
Commerical TelAviv 170.00 0.6

Two-sided trading
Name Price % Change
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Investment Companies
Name Price % Change
abshel 519 1.0

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abshel 519 1.0

Other stock market indexes
FTSE 100 2744.2 -0.24
1000 Nikkei average 2198.4 -0.31

Israeli stocks in NY
NYSE / AMEX
Am & Pco 55.26 -0.37%

Foreign money markets
Dollar crossrates (US)
Pound spot 1.5117 0

Libor rates
3 months 5.5313 0
6 months 5.5303 0

Foreign financial data
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Israeli stocks in NY
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Am & Pco 55.26 -0.37%

Comstock Trading Ltd. (Date 11-APR-96)

Fear of high CPI pushes stocks down

STOCKS closed lower in a week shortened by Pessah, amid concern that this Monday's Cost of Living Index will show accelerated inflation.
Inflation expectations are for a rise of more than one percent, said Doron Tsur, head of research at Sahar Securities in Tel Aviv.

US inflation worries pound European shares

LONDON (Reuter) - Fears that US inflation might be about to rise on the back of soaring commodity prices sent Wall Street tumbling for a while yesterday and pushed European shares, into the red.
French stocks fell 1.02 percent, despite a small cut in the Bank of France's intervention rate to 3.70%, while Germany's DAX index shed 0.8% and London's FTSE-100 lost 0.62%.

Dow ends higher after four sessions of losses

NEW YORK (Reuter) - Blue-chip stocks roared back from a loss of more than 70 points to end the day with a slight gain yesterday, as bargain hunters surfaced after four straight sessions of losses.
Based on early and unofficial data, the Dow Jones industrial average was up 1.09 points at 5,487.07.

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# IDF destroys five illegal houses near Hebron

THE IDF destroyed five houses near Hebron yesterday between Bani Naim and Kiryat Arba, which it said were built illegally. The houses were some of 23 in the area for which demolition orders have been issued.

Homeowners resisted in some cases, throwing stones at bulldozers. In one case, members of a family stood inside a house to be demolished, but were forced out.

**JON IMMANUEL**

One woman fainted. The IDF has destroyed 46 illegal homes since the beginning of the year, and seven more were destroyed by the owners themselves after pressure from the IDF, said Peter Lerner, a civil administration spokesman.

All the homes were in area C under full Israeli control. Houses

in area B which a year ago were slated for demolition no longer fall under IDF control.

Gush Shalom spokesman Adam Keller described the demolitions as "a barbaric act aimed at the peace process. They always choose a day when attention is drawn elsewhere."

He said the homes were demolished because the area is slated for Israeli settlement only.



Palestinian policemen are led back to the Jerusalem lock-up after being remanded yesterday for eight days for allegedly planning to kidnap an eastern Jerusalem drug dealer to Ramallah. Pistols, handcuffs, and cellular phones were found in their van at the entrance to the Shuafat refugee camp, a Jerusalem police spokesman said. (Text: Bill Hutman; Photo: Brian Henders)

## Baruch Goldstein's wife appeals for compensation

THE wife of Hebron massacre Baruch Goldstein appealed to the Tel Aviv District Court yesterday against the Defense Ministry's refusal to recognize her as the survivor of a terror victim.

Miriam Goldstein, of Kiryat Arba, argued in her appeal that her husband had been murdered by Arab worshippers who lynched him after taking away his weapon, rather than allowing him to

be tried by the law. As a result, she said, she should be recognized as deserving compensation.

In February 1994, Baruch Goldstein shot dead 29 Arabs in the Machpela Cave in Hebron before being overcome and beaten to death.

The Defense Ministry rejected Miriam Goldstein's request for the assistance given to relatives of terror victims.

In her appeal, Goldstein said, "she was left with no means to support her four children."

She quoted from the Shamgar Commission of Inquiry's report in her appeal, noting that her husband had been killed by the Moslems.

Goldstein was murdered after his weapon had been taken from him and he was no longer a threat, she added. (Iim)

## Hijacker Leila Khaled plans to defy Israeli terms for return to self-rule areas

AMMAN (Reuters) - PLO hijacker Leila Khaled said yesterday she rejected Israeli terms for her return to Palestinian self-rule areas to attend a meeting on amending the PLO charter.

Khaled, member of the Palestine National Council (PNC), the Palestinian parliament-in-exile, and a PLO faction that opposes Palestinian President Yasser Arafat's peace deal with Israel, said she would leave Amman for self-rule areas on Sunday.

"The Israelis are still my enemies," she said.

Israel said in February it would let Khaled and 153 others, including some of the staunchest anti-Israeli terrorists, to return to attend the PNC meeting. But they may settle in the West Bank or Gaza with their families if they choose to do so.

Khaled said she was shocked by an Israeli announcement on Tuesday that she had to sign a paper denouncing "terrorism".

backing the Middle East peace process and condemning recent attacks by Moslem bombers that killed 58 people in Israel.

"I am not ready to sign any paper or meet any Israeli terms to enter, as this is my right," said Khaled, 52, who won world fame in 1969 after hijacking an American TWA airliner.

"I am going down on Sunday, and I will refuse to sign any paper even if this means them sending me back.

"I will not beg them to enter even if I am really longing because it will be the first time I will go to Palestine," added Khaled, born in Haifa in 1944.

Khaled, a member of the Damascus-based Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), was seized in London in 1970 for trying to hijack an El Al airplane after the TWA move.

She said she would oppose any plans to change the Palestinian charter.

## Jordan's dramatic shift toward US

**ANALYSIS**  
**DORE GOLD**

JORDAN'S acceptance today of a squadron of 30 US Air Force fighter aircraft to patrol southern Iraq completes a dramatic shift in its regional orientation.

During the 1991 Gulf War, Jordan did not back the American-led coalition's war effort largely out of domestic considerations; in previous years the Jordanians had been a strategic partner of Iraq. Now, by joining the American effort to contain Saddam Hussein, Jordan has suddenly emerged as a critical strategic asset for the US in the defense of the Persian Gulf.

Ironically, neither of the US's other non-Gulf Arab partners - Egypt and Syria - have been able to carve out for themselves an equivalent role in the protection of Western oil interests.

Until recently, American air patrols over the Southern No-Fly Zone in southern Iraq took off from American air bases in the Arabian peninsula or from US Navy carriers. The global requirements of American carrier power in the western Pacific near

the Taiwan Straits and in the Mediterranean created a gap for the Gulf region. The Jordanian deployment of US land-based aircraft is intended to fill this gap.

The American deployment has significant implications for the Middle East. It sends a message to Jordan's potential adversaries in the region - from Yasser Arafat to Saddam Hussein - that the kingdom is a vital American national interest.

This message is no less important for Syria to hear. The Jordanian role in Gulf security should help heal the rift between the Hashemite Kingdom and Saudi Arabia, as well as that with Kuwait. Finally, it confirms that Jordan's decision to give asylum to defecting Iraqi officers was not cosmetic, but a real strategic shift away from Saddam Hussein and to a new military partnership with the US.

(The writer is the director of the US Foreign and Defense Policy Project - Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University.)

## Arafat visiting Jericho today

PALESTINIAN Authority President Yasser Arafat flew from Ramallah to Bethlehem by helicopter yesterday and is expected to go to Jericho today before returning to Gaza.

Arafat is to spend more time in West Bank towns and hold cabinet meetings periodically outside Gaza to emphasize Palestinian unity and to undercut the current of criticism following the closure and Palestinian police actions during searches for Hamas mili-

**JON IMMANUEL**

tants. But Palestinian sources said he will not live in Ramallah for the next three months, as he was expected to do before he visited Saudi Arabia recently.

Arafat has attacked Israel for harboring Jewish extremists and Jordan for harboring Islamic extremists, who he claims collaborated with last month's suicide bombers. He has come under pressure as economic standards

have fallen sharply.

Peace Watch noted a 5% reduction in police and other PA employee salaries in April following financial difficulties of the Palestinian Authority, which says it is losing \$6 million a day during the closure.

Donor nations estimating the loss at \$2.5 million were to begin a conference in Brussels last night devoted to resolving the economic and employment problems posed by the closure.

(Continued from Page 1)

### HIZBULLAH

After the attacks yesterday, Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri said in Beirut that his government would not curb Hizbullah "so long as the occupation exists on our land."

Lebanese Foreign Minister Fares Bouez claimed the attacks yesterday were due to Peres surrendering to political pressure in advance of the elections.

Speaking at a press conference last night at the Defense Ministry alongside top IDF officials, Peres indicated that Hizbullah is playing with fire if it thinks it can hit Israeli towns with impunity.

"If the Hizbullah has Katyushas, we have more excellent missiles," the prime minister said.

He said it would be a mistake to interpret Israel's interest in peace as being at all costs.

"The state of Israel is very serious in its efforts to seek peace, and we are willing to take chances... to reach a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. But these efforts are in absolutely no way at the price of security of the residents of Israel," Peres said.

"I hope it learned the lesson. If it continues to act, we will react according to the need," Peres declared.

Praising IDF commanders for the precise laser-guided hits,

Peres termed the three different attacks in Lebanon to be "almost surgical" and graphic videotapes of the operations were shown. Yet there were reports yesterday of at least seven Lebanese civilians being killed.

At the press conference, IDF Chief of Staff Lt-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak said, "Hizbullah has to know, as do those who the Hizbullah uses as a cover, that hiding behind the backs of the civilian population will not be allowed to be used... to carry out terror attacks against Israel." He said Hizbullah launched rocket attacks near schools, houses, and UN posts.

Israel warned on the radio station used by the South Lebanese Army yesterday that failure to expel Hizbullah from villages where firing occurs will result in IDF attacks.

In a separate briefing for reporters, a top security source called Israel's attack on Beirut as "lifting the taboo on hitting Beirut," which Israel has not attacked since the Lebanon war in 1982. The source said, "if Kiryat Shmona is hit, Beirut is not immune."

He insisted, however, that Israel wants to avoid civilian casualties wherever possible. Therefore it used precision methods to hit an apartment on the first floor of a 10-story building in Beirut, which he said serves as a Hizbullah military operations center.

The source admitted the as-

effect of yesterday's action is changing the rules of the game as set in the aftermath of Operation Accountability in 1993, whereby both sides would refrain from his outside the security zone. At the same time, the security official refused to say the understandings should now be considered dead.

The official voiced concern that Damascus has not demonstrated an interest in curbing Hizbullah attacks due to the suspension in peace talks between Syria and Israel.

"When there are no talks, I think Syria prefers to avoid a confrontation with Hizbullah" and give it a free hand, he said.

State-run Damascus Radio warned Israel that its attacks of "aggression" on Lebanon yesterday would harm the hopes for Middle East peace and called on the international community to restrain Israel.

Syria is not the only country being blamed by Israeli officials. Ya'alon said Iran has accelerated its attacks on a variety of Israeli targets in recent months. He said Tehran has stepped up attacks with the aim of bringing about a "change of governments in Israel." Ya'alon's remarks echoed those Peres made a few days earlier which were criticized by the Likud as being politically motivated.

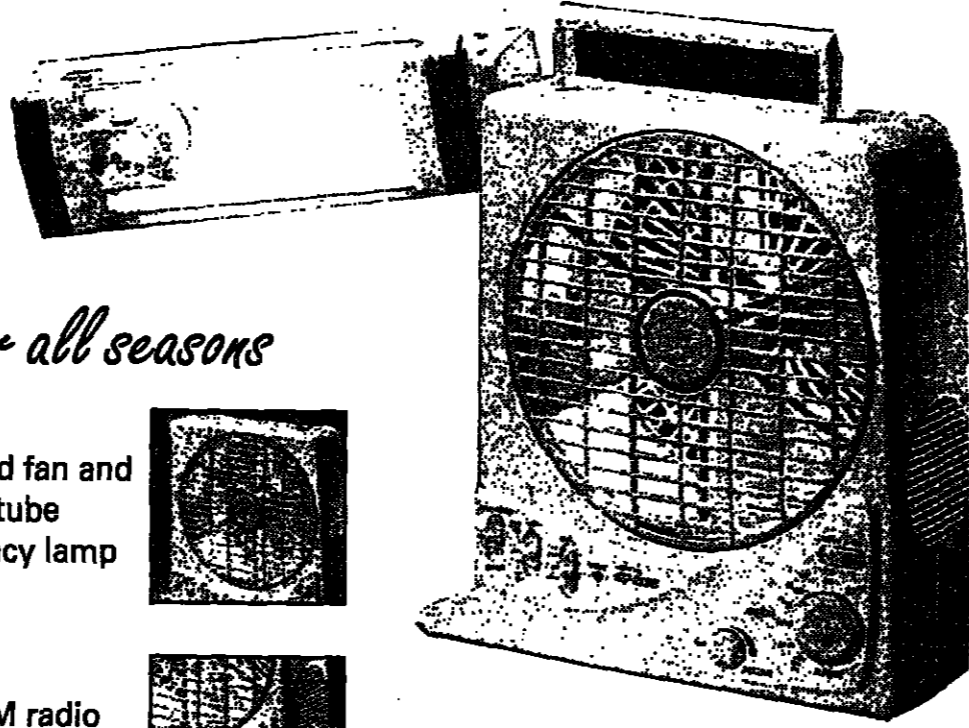
Likud leader MK Binyamin Netanyahu praised yesterday's strike, saying it was "better late than never."



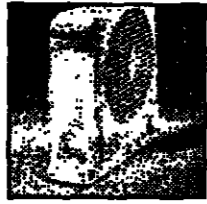
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# Ben-Yair orders case against Kessar dropped

ATTORNEY-GENERAL Michael Ben-Yair yesterday ordered the case against Transport Minister Yisrael Kessar, accused of fraud in his Labor primaries campaign in 1992.

However, Ben-Yair severely criticized several irregularities which emerged during the investigation.

Ben-Yair made the decision after consulting with the head of the criminal division in the State Attorney's Office, Nava Ben-Or, and State Attorney Edna Arbel.

The charges against the former Histadrut secretary-general included adding expenses incurred by his campaign to the Histadrut budget; illegal use of contributions from Austrian unions intended for the

Amal vocational schools; receipt of an illegal donation from the Romanian Immigrants Association; and illegally seeking contributions from workers involved in collecting Histadrut membership fees.

Yehezkel Ovadia, the head of a print shop which was a Histadrut subsidiary, was alleged to have canceled 29 bills sent to him from the Kessar campaign headquarters for campaign material, replacing them with two bills then sent to the Histadrut events department.

Events department head and state's witness Uzi Pessah then allegedly passed them on to the Histadrut treasury as Histadrut expenses. Kessar denied knowing about this arrangement.

Lack of cooperation between

the Austrian union heads with investigators sent there to look into the matter of the donations made it impossible to prove the charges against Kessar. The death of the chairman of the Romanian Immigrants Association made it impossible to prove those charges.

Meanwhile, the probe into the alleged NIS 12,000 contribution by the membership fee collection staff was dropped when Ben-Yair ruled there was a lack of public interest.

However, he sharply criticized the Histadrut workers' boss for asking them to contribute to a campaign, and the full-time employment of two Histadrut workers in Kessar's campaign.

(Tim)

# Court to rule on legality of taking reporters' records

TEL AVIV Magistrate's Court Judge Zecharia Caspi is to rule on Sunday on the legality of the court order given to the Military Police to obtain lists of phone calls made by journalists Carmela Menashe and Yoni Ben-Menahem.

Caspi's ruling will affect any future requests for such lists and their use by the Military Police.

The decision will be given following a petition by Razi Guterman, secretary-general of the National Federation of Israel Journalists, Menashe, and Ben-Menahem, against the state, the IDF chief of personnel, the Military Police commander, and the police.

Another judge ruled on Monday that the court order, signed by Judge George Kara, will be made

public, following a similar request filed by Ha'arets.

Guterman said the whole affair has severely damaged journalists' ability to protect their sources.

"There is nothing more important [to a journalist] than the right to confidentiality - the basic principle of a journalist's work - even beyond the violation of privacy to the same journalist. It seems that military authorities kept documents which they did not request, and which they received a month ago and kept until the eve of Pessah. We don't know if this information was used and for what purpose," Guterman said.

Federation lawyer Arye Chertok

also argued that the Military Police received additional documents and kept them for a longer period than the court order allowed. He also said the Military Police received additional lists of phone calls from Pelephone made by other journalists.

Military Police prosecutor Lt. Col. Avi Levy argued that although the Military Police had received more documents than they had requested, they had not used them. But when asked by Caspi if the documents had been examined, Levy said they had because it had not been clear what they referred to. Levy also agreed that Ben-Menahem's rights as a journalist had been damaged, "but not deliberately."

# Former Mossad agent remanded in cocaine smuggling incident

A FORMER Mossad agent charged with smuggling 74 kilograms of cocaine in a phony diplomatic bag was remanded until trial by Tel Aviv District Court yesterday.

Ya'acov Rimon, 46, was arrested in Venezuela in 1992 in possession of a diplomatic mail bag containing the drugs, concealed inside tubes of toothpaste.

He claimed he was acting as an emissary for Israel but was jailed

there for three years. He was employed by the Mossad from 1978-84.

He was then released on parole and escaped to Israel, where he was arrested by police here and then released on bail.

The indictment, served in December 1995, says Rimon's claims in Venezuela that he was a Mossad agent and that the con-

RAINE MARCUS

tents of the bag belonged to Israel severely damaged the country's image.

A publication ban on the affair was only recently lifted. The district attorney then requested his remand until trial.

Rimon's lawyer argued that since the drugs had been destroyed in Venezuela there was no proof the offense had been

committed. In any case, Rimon has already served a prison sentence for the offense, he said.

But Judge Abraham Baizer said the fact that Rimon was a Mossad agent does not grant him immunity.

"On the contrary, a greater degree of integrity and honesty is expected from those who served the state, even after they complete their service," he said.

# Sheves gets threatening phone calls, letter

RAINE MARCUS

THE head of Labor's campaign headquarters, Shimon Sheves, is expected to file a complaint with Tel Aviv police after receiving several phone calls recently in which a man threatened to murder him and his children.

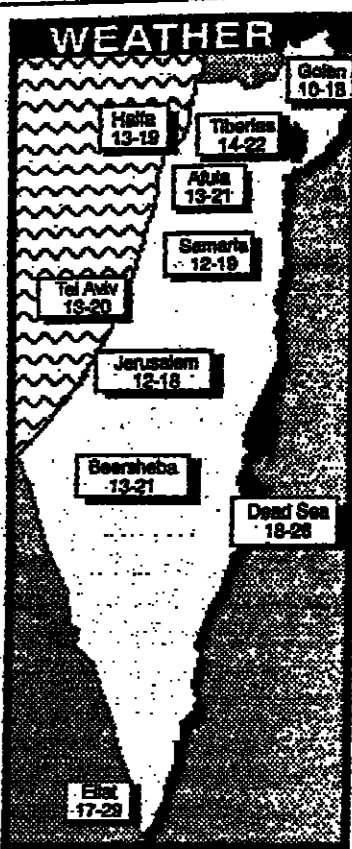
According to a source close to Sheves, he also received a handwritten letter in incorrect Hebrew - initially sent to the Prime Minister's Office before being transferred to Sheves - which

describes him as a "demon, monster and a traitor."

"You sold the country - you together with Rabin," reads the letter. "You deserve the same as Yigal Amir got. All this will return like a boomerang or a ball [for bullet] hurled which comes back to you. These curses will hurt you in return."

Senior police officers have been informed of the threats. Police said as soon as they receive a formal complaint, they will deal with it accordingly.

Sheves has been threatened several times in the past, police said.



Forecast: Fall in temperatures. Rain in the north. Showers: Rain in the north and center. Colder than normal.

### AROUND THE WORLD

Table with columns for location, temperature, and weather conditions. Locations include Amsterdam, London, New York, etc.

### Teen gets lost after eating hallucinogen

A 16-year-old girl who got lost while hiking near Safed during Pessah became disoriented when she ate the hallucinogenic devil's trumpet plant, police said yesterday. She was found Wednesday evening, two days after disappearing.

Advertisement for EDAN ITIN cellular phone service, featuring a large '9' and 'FROM \$9 PER DAY'.

Advertisement for WORLDWIDE MEDICAL INSURANCE, offering full coverage for people who want the freedom of choice of doctor and hospital.

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Handwritten text at the bottom of the page: '1500 יאלון'.